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bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses. Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the merchant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substantial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom entirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of increasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of binding himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By

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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III) begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.